2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

I

I. THE PAWNEE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY[1]

FIRST PERIOD: TO 1833

The Pawnee enter the perspective of American governmental Indian affairs after the purchase of the Louisiana territory in 1803 by which their traditional territory, ranging from the Missouri indefinitely westward between the Niobrara River and the Arkansas, became a part of the United States. Lewis and Clarke, on their explorations of the newly acquired domain, met the Pawnee on the Platte River in Nebraska in 1804. In 1806, Major Pike visited the villages of the Kitkahaxki[2] band of Pawnee on the Republican fork of the Kansas River. But the first government treaties with the Pawnee were not concluded until 1818. At that time the four bands were politically independent of each other, and lived apart, and four separate treaties, embodying the identical articles, were drawn up at St. Louis. By these treaties the government secured for the American people the peace and friendship of the Pawnee, while the tribes acknowledged the "protection" of the United States. All past acts of hostility were to be mutually forgiven and forgotten, and future violations of the treaty were to be dealt with according to the laws of the United States. These objectives were further defined by the treaty of 1825 at Ft. Atkinson, at which time the government dealt with the Pawnee as one tribal or national unit composed of four federated bands. In this latter treaty the Pawnee acknowledged the supremacy of the United States, and the United States received the Pawnee under their protection. Specifically, the function of this treaty was to establish rules for the trade of the Indians with the whites, and to limit such trade to citizens of the United States. The Pawnee also gave a guaranty in this treaty that they would refrain from selling or trading arms and ammunition to hostile Indian tribes.

[1] The historical account which comprises Chapter I, as well as parts of the second section of Chapter II, and the last section of Chapter III, are founded on:

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missionaries, Dunbar and Allis, who were first with the tribe from 1835 to 1837, and considered the government estimate too high, offering 10,000 as approximating the true population more closely. The discrepancies between these various figures are not severe. That of Lewis and Clarke, in spite of the decimation of the Pawnee the previous year, is probably too low, and may not have been intended to include all villages of all four bands. The computations of Pike and Long, based upon three of the four bands, indicates a total of close to 9,000 for the whole tribe. This last figure represents the approximate "normal" figure for the Pawnee tribes during the first period of the Nineteenth Century. There were without doubt major fluctuations in the numbers of the Pawnee during this period, and the trend of the tribal population was to diminish rather than increase. One general consideration, however, can hardly be open to question. At the opening of the Nineteenth century, the Pawnee bands together constituted one of the five or six large Indian tribal groups between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains. They maintained themselves in spite of the hostility of practically every tribe in the region. In their aboriginal state their trade must have been severely limited by tribal feud. It is unlikely that they had economic dealings of any importance with tribes other than the Arikara, Mandan and Wichita. All the major indigenous peoples around them were continually in a state of conflict with them: the many groups of the Dakota Sioux on the north and northwest, the Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne and Arapaho to the southwest, the Osage and Kansa to the south and southeast. Immediately to their east were the Omaha, Ponca and Oto, with whom a state of partial amity prevailed, born of the fear they had inspired in these tribes. Later in the century the Pawnee became close friends of the Omaha and Ponca. The Oto, given opportunity as the Pawnee declined, assaulted small parties of Pawnee on occasion, but later became friends of the Pawnee.

In the period which closed with the treaty of 1833 changes were taking place in the basic conditions of life of the Pawnee which were only to appear in their fullest effect in later periods. A tide of white emigration and transcontinental travel began to appear, moving westward, and swelling with the years. These emigrants brought white diseases into the midst of the Indian tribes, trampled their fields, hunted the buffalo for sustenance and pleasure, and keeping the herds of the plains in constant fear, limited the natural range and increase of the buffalo.

The diseases which the Pawnee acquired from white contact included, besides infantile diseases, venereal diseases, small-pox and

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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PAWNEE MUSIC

By Frances Densmore

THE PAWNEE TRIBE

The Pawnee is commonly regarded as the last of the Caddoan Tribes which migrated in a general northeasterly direction at an early date.[1] When the Siouan Tribes entered the valley of the Platte River in Nebraska they found the Pawnee already established in that region. The Pawnee called themselves by a term meaning "men of men." Their present name was probably given by some neighboring tribe and derived from *pariki*, meaning a horn, as it was the Pawnee custom to shave the head except a narrow strip extending from the forehead to the scalplock and to stiffen this ridge of hair with grease and paint, curving it upward like a horn.

While in Nebraska the Pawnee lived in earth lodges which were in four permanent groups of villages, each having its geographical location along the Platte River. The people of each group were a unit, representing a division of the tribe. The Skidi (Wolf Pawnee) was in the northwest, its people considering themselves related to the Arikara, another Caddoan Tribe living some distance to the north. The Pitahauerat (Tapage Pawnee) were downstream, the Kithahki (Republican Pawnee) were upstream, and the Chaui (Grand Pawnee) were located between the two last named. The soil of the region was dry and rather sandy with rough, broken land toward the mountains in the west, yet the Pawnee were essentially an agricultural people, cultivating corn, beans, squash, and pumpkins. Buffalo and other game was abundant in the early days, and the Pawnee were excellent hunters, their hunting expeditions covering a wide area.

The first treaty between the Government of the United States and the Pawnee Indians was made at St. Louis Trading Post in June, 1818.[2]

[1] In the classification of the North American races by John W. Powell the Pawnee is classified as one of the five independent groups of the Caddoan stock. Miss Alice C. Fletcher regards the Pawnee as a confederacy, the divisions or bands of the tribe being treated by her as separate tribes in the Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p 213. Cf also Linton, Ralph, The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee, The Sacrifice to the Morning Star by the Skidi Pawnee, and Annual Ceremony of the Pawnee Medicine Men, compiled chiefly from unpublished notes of Dr. G. A. Dorsey, published as leaflets Nos. 5, 6, and 8, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, 1922-23.

[2] Indian Affairs; Laws and Treaties, Charles J. Kappler, ed., vol. II, pp. 156-159, Washington, 1904.

II. THE BAND AND THE VILLAGE

The Skidi formed one of the four bands comprising the Pawnee tribe, the others being the Chaui, the Kitkehahki, and the Pitahauirat. [In the manuscript the Skidi are spoken of as a tribe. However, I have followed more recent usage and substituted the term band, reserving tribe for the Pawnee as a whole (Lesser, 1933).] The Skidi, however, considered themselves independent and actually felt closer to the Arikara than to the other three Pawnee bands. Politically the Skidi were a federation of villages, of which at least thirteen are known to have existed, though there were probably others which have been forgotten. The federation was held together by a governing council of chiefs and by a ceremonial organization involving the participation of the band in a round of ceremonies associated with sacred bundles.

The village was a distinct local group consisting of a cluster of earth-lodges housing the component families. Each village possessed its own fields, whose ownership was allotted among the villagers by the chief, a supposed lineal descendant of the original owner of the sacred bundle of the village. [I am inclined to believe that the chief allotted the use of the fields rather than their ownership.] On the death of an individual, his land was re-allotted by the chief. Each village also had its own burial ground in which were buried only those belonging to the village.

In principle the village was endogamous. Since the Pawnee moved to Oklahoma the old restriction on marriage has been gradually disappearing. This is due to the fact that the population of certain villages has dwindled and it is no longer possible for the few remaining individuals of some villages to obtain mates within their own village. Even in this breaking down of the system, however, the old fashion of reckoning descent is maintained. Thus, in the marriage of a man from Big-Elk village with a woman of Little-Elk village, the children would belong to Big-Elk village. [However, according to the manuscript, both these villages were extinct by 1907.] An exception to this general rule is at the present time [1907] under consideration among the Skidi. Mr. Murie's son, now about of age, properly belongs by the laws of the tribe to the Village-on-the-Hill, that being the village of his father. His mother, however, belongs to the Pumpkin-Vine village and her brother, Skidi-Good-Chief, is the last representative of that village. To prevent the village from becoming extinct, Skidi-Good-Chief has asked per-

6: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
CHICAGO, 1922

LEAFLET NUMBER 5

The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee

(Hall 5, Case 60)

The Pawnee were a tribe of the Caddoan linguistic stock who, in historic times, occupied the valley of the Platte river in Nebraska. The name Pawnee is probably derived from *pariki* ("a horn"), a term applied to them by the neighboring tribes because of their peculiar method of dressing the hair. They called themselves Chahiksichahiks ("Men of Men"). They seem to have come into Nebraska from some region to the southwest, expelling an earlier population; but this movement was an ancient one, and the first Siouxian tribes to enter the Platte valley found the Pawnee already established.

The region in which the Pawnee lived was high, dry, and rather sandy, with little timber except along the rivers. On the west, toward the mountains, it was rough and broken. In early times buffalo and other game were abundant. Although the Pawnee ranged over a large territory in pursuit of the buffalo, they were not nomads. They spent the greater part of every year in permanent villages and raised large crops of corn, beans, squashes, and pumpkins. Corn played a much more important part than the buffalo in their ceremonies and mythology, and it is evident that they were an agricultural rather than a hunting people.

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9: Linton E-4 (no date) 1923
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FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
CHICAGO, 1923

LEAFLET NUMBER 8

Annual Ceremony of the Pawnee Medicine Men

A general description of the Pawnee, with an account of their religious beliefs and social organization, has been given in Leaflet No. 5 of this series. Although geographically a Plains tribe, they differed in several respects from the typical tribes of the region. While the latter were all nomadic hunters, the Pawnee were settled agriculturists, inhabiting permanent towns and subsisting largely on their crops. When on hunting trips, they used the typical skin-covered tent of the plains, but in their towns they built large houses of wood covered with earth. A model of one of these houses is shown in the miniature group illustrating the annual ceremony of the Medicine Men.

The earth lodges of the Pawnee were dome-shaped, about forty feet in diameter and fifteen feet high. The roof was supported by two concentric rows of uprights, the outer row being planted just in front of a ledge, about a foot and a half high, which entirely surrounded the inside of the lodge. The outer posts, which varied in number according to the size of the lodge, were about seven feet high, and were placed about the same distance apart. The inner row of posts stood about half way between the outer wall of the lodge and its center, and were about twelve feet high. They varied in number from four to ten. All the uprights were forked and bore a row of cross beams, which supported rafters extending from the outer uprights to a point

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
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PREFACE

The Pawnee have been known to white men since, probably, 1541, and certainly since 1678. They were the most numerous and powerful of the tribes constituting the Caddoan linguistic stock and one of the most important of the entire Plains area. Since the earliest definite historic mention of them they have been resident in Nebraska and the extreme northern portion of Kansas, particularly on the Loup, Platte, and Republican Rivers. As a tribe they were always friendly to the Europeans and later to the Americans, rendering invaluable aid as scouts in the Indian troubles on the Plains during the middle half of the nineteenth century; and that despite the half-hearted and tardy attentions that too often characterized the Government's relations with them.

The tribe has been variously described by early explorers, missionaries, fur traders, Army officers, and travelers, many of whom left very valuable and worth-while accounts concerning them in their native habitat in the Loup and Platte Valleys. In more recent years, on their reservation in Oklahoma, they have been studied by linguists and ethnologists, though much of this material is still unpublished. Of outstanding note among the available treatises in this field is the work of Dunbar in general ethnology, of Dorsey in mythology, of Grinnell in folk-tales, and of Murie in social and political organization. Archeological remains, surprisingly rich and numerous at many of the old village sites formerly occupied by the tribe, have received but little systematic attention up to the present, save for the excellent beginnings made by a few local collectors. Yet it is this latter, long-neglected field of research which must come to be more and more drawn upon for information regarding this fast-vanishing tribe and its native culture.

The primary purpose of this paper, as originally planned, was to present a purely objective preliminary report on the archeology of the Pawnee, drawing together all data at present available and recording it in systematic fashion. More or less inadvertently, the scope was broadened to include a review of the traditions dealing with the origin and early movements of the tribe, as well as a concise summary of the documentary history of the tribe from 1541 to 1876. To this were added brief notes on the environment of the group, and such other significant facts as may be helpful to an understanding of the subject. The social, political, and religious phases

[P. viii contains no text]

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cupying lands on the Red River and to the south, included the closely related Wichita as well as the Waco, Caddo, Kichai, Anadarko, and Tawakoni; there were several smaller groups also, now virtually extinct. Alien linguistic stocks isolated these three Caddoan groups more or less completely from each other. Siouan tribes, namely the Ponca, Omaha, and Dakota, occupied the territory between the Pawnee and the Arikara, while between the Pawnee and the southern Caddoans were still other tribes of diverse linguistic affiliations; Kansa and Osage in the east and Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa, and other nomadic tribes in the west.

The latest and most radical linguistic amalgamation of speech families north of Mexico is that of Sapir,[7] who reduces the 55 separate stocks of the Powell classification to 6 major groupings. According to Sapir, the Caddoan tribes are linked with the Iroquoian tribes in one subfamily of the greater Hokan-Siouan linguistic stock. Based upon deep-lying structural and morphological parallels, this new classification carries very suggestive and far-reaching implications, certain of which will be touched on hereafter.

Origin of the Name Pawnee

The name Pawnee is of somewhat uncertain origin. Dunbar[8] derives it from *pa'-rik-i*, a horn, as an outgrowth of the typical Pawnee mode of dressing the scalp lock. The head of the warrior was shaven except for a small tuft or topknot which was daubed with bison fat and red ochre until stiff enough to stand erect, or curving slightly backward, like a horn. Since this was the most conspicuous feature of the individual it gave rise to the particular designation which ultimately became the name of the tribe. Formerly, according to the same authority, the term included the *Pawnee Picts*, or Wichita, and the Arikara. Arache, Arahei, Arae, Harahey, and Ahuache, names by which the Pawnee "kingdom" was known to the Spanish during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,[9] are then probably derivatives from *pa'-rik-i*, assuming this to have been actually the original designation for the tribe. However, as early as 1673 Marquette[10] used the term *Pana;* Valverde[11] speaks of the *Panana* in 1719; and thereafter, at least until the end of the eighteenth century, *Panis* and *Panimaha* are regularly employed in referring to the Pawnee. Just how these names were derived from *pa'-rik-i*, if indeed they ever were, is far from clear, nor does Dunbar show the orthographic and phonetic changes that would have taken place in such a process. The

[7] 1929, pp. 138–140; see also Parker, 1916, p. 483.
[8] 1880, a, p. 245. Compare, however, Lesser and Weltfish, 1932, p. 5.
[9] Winship, 1896, pp. 520, 577, 588, 590; Margry Papers, vol. VI, p. 310
[10] 1900, map facing p. 108.
[11] Bandelier, 1890, a, p. 185.

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term "Pani" was employed by the French during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to designate all Indian slaves, regardless of tribal affiliations, perhaps because the majority of such slaves were captives from the tribe known as *Panis*.[12] Conversely, however, it has been suggested that the tribe may have derived its name from the old French term, without its originally having been connected with them at all.[13] The older form, "Pani", survived until the beginning of the nineteenth century, when, largely through the agency of early American explorers, it was superseded by the modern Pawnee, rarely Pawney.[14] Among themselves the people are called *Chahiksi-chahiks*, or "men of men."

Names and General Organization of the Bands

The unit of tribal organization among the Pawnee was the band.[15] There were four of these, each in turn consisting of several subbands and villages. The main bands, which are sufficient for present purposes, were known as the *Chaui* or Grand, the *Kitkehahki* or Republican, the *Pitahawerat* or Tappage, and the *Skidi*, or Wolf, Pawnee. Ordinarily each functioned as an independent unit, retaining charge of its own administrative and other affairs through a hereditary, but often purely nominal, chief, who was assisted in matters of importance by secondary chiefs and a council of the leading men. The Grands were generally recognized as the leading band, and where situations arose involving relationships between the several bands, or affecting the tribe as a whole, the principal chief of the Grands acted as spokesman and adviser for the entire tribe. The bands were endogamous, and each possessed its own sacred bundles and certain accompanying rituals, besides participatory privileges in various tribal ceremonies. The Skidi appear to have been less closely bound to the other bands than were these to one another, and they may have sprung from a somewhat different ancestry, or else possibly represent an earlier offshoot from the parent stock. In the present discussion the bands will be designated by their anglicized names, with the exception of the Skidi.

Historic Habitat and Its Geographical Features

The territory claimed by the Pawnee was bounded on the north by the Niobrara River, on the south by the Arkansas or possibly the Canadian, on the east by the Missouri, and on the west extended rather indefinitely toward the Rockies. Actually, however, it was

[12] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 199.
[13] Idem. Compare Lesser and Weltfish, op. cit.
[14] Ashley and Smith, 1918, p. 119.
[15] See Murie, 1914, pp. 549 ff.

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much more limited. On the west the *Padouca* (Comanche) were firmly established in the forks of the Dismal River,[16] on the shores of some of the lakes in the sandhill region of the present Cherry County, Nebr.,[17] and on the upper reaches of the Smoky Hill River [18] in the present northern Kansas. Between Pawnee and *Padouca* there was incessant warfare, and it is unlikely that the former at any time ventured far beyond the forks of the Platte, save on occasional war or hunting trips. Early in the nineteenth century the *Padouca* were pushed southward by the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Teton Dakota, who formed an equally effective check against westward movements by the Pawnee. On the east the Omaha controlled a large area north of the Platte from Shell Creek to the mouth of the Niobrara, and south of the Platte the Oto claimed as theirs the lands lying east of the Big Blue and north of the Big Nemaha. From the Big Nemaha south to the Kansas River and west to the Republican the Kansa were in undisputed possession, and south of this tribe the equally hostile Osage roamed westward nearly to the great bend of the Arkansas. The actual area over which the Pawnee hunted and exercised chief control was thus a strip, as follows: Commencing with the Niobrara (between its mouth and Plum Creek) and extending southward to include the Platte between Shell Creek and the present city of North Platte, thence into Kansas to include the Smoky Hill drainage between the Republican River and the ninety-ninth meridian, with the western periphery then swinging westward by south toward the upper reaches of the Arkansas, while the eastern limit ran toward the southwestern corner of present Kansas. (See map 1. Compare Strong, 1935, fig. 2.) The permanent villages of the tribe were located in the valleys of the lower Loup and Platte Rivers, and on the Republican, in the present State of Nebraska; the region to the south served solely as hunting and wintering grounds, and Pawnee claims were often disputed or ignored by neighboring tribes.

Generally speaking, the region which formerly constituted the Pawnee demesne, as above described, is a high, dry, grass-covered plain, or more accurately, a series of plains interspersed with river valleys. The northern portion, lying within the borders of the present State of Nebraska, includes several thousand square miles of the great loess mantle deposited during or shortly following the Pleistocene glaciation of the region. North of the Platte erosion has progressed sufficiently to produce a hilly and broken topography, consisting of small loess plains and canyons grading into loess-capped hills toward the east. A great wedge of dune lands and sand

[16] Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911, pp. 88, 91. However, compare Grinnell, 1920, p. 260.
[17] Dorsey, J. O., 1886, p. 220.
[18] Margry Papers, vol. vi, pp. 398–448.

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With the exception of the Cottonwood Creek village, all of these sites, where definitely located, have been visited by the writer, who was accompanied in all but two instances by Mr. A. T. Hill, of Hastings. Several of the locations were first identified by Mr. Hill many years ago, and through the medium of sample collections he has acquired a first-hand acquaintance with each site that made his assistance invaluable. So far as systematic excavation is concerned, Mr. Hill's activities have been largely confined to the Hill site. The Nebraska Archeological Survey, of which the writer was a member, spent the first 2 weeks in August 1930 in intensive work at the same place, the results of which are included in this paper. Excavations by the Survey at the Burkett and Schuyler sites in 1931 were made subsequent to the writing of this paper. However, certain of these findings have been incorporated here, although the main results await future publication. The only other extended excavations were made by E. E. Blackman, of the Nebraska Historical Society, at the Burkett site, in 1907. For the rest, as already stated, the sites have been visited and their chief features noted, as well as surface collections of specimens wherever available.

SKIDI PAWNEE SITES

The Skidi band, known in early literature as the *Panimaha*, is by some considered to have been the first to occupy the northern habitat. According to their own claim, they were formerly a very powerful and numerous tribe, consisting of four bands, each numbering 5,000 souls.[34] This number is doubtless excessive, but to quote Grinnell, "There are yet to be seen on the Loup Fork, in Nebraska, innumerable remains of Skidi villages, some of which are very ancient."[35] To date only three sites have been definitely shown to be Skidi, although there is a very strong probability that archeology will bring to light many more of prehistoric age, possibly substantiating the greater antiquity of the Skidi in the area.[36]

PALMER SITE.—This was discovered by Mr. A. T. Hill, of Hastings, in 1922, and has been identified by him as the probable site of the Skidi village reported by Major Sibley in 1811,[37] and subsequently

sites are those exhibiting only the pure native cultural traits with no traces whatever of Caucasian contact; they antedate the arrival of the Spanish in 1541. In the above discussion only historic and protohistoric Pawnee sites are considered. Various sites in the last category are discussed in Smithsonian Misc. Colls., vol. 93, no. 10, by W. D. Strong, entitled "An Introduction to Nebraska Archeology"; also in Wedel, 1935, pp. 132–237.

[34] Grinnell, 1893, p. 236.

[35] Ibid., p. 239.

[36] All of the sites described are indicated on map 2 which shows their situation relative to the streams and river bluffs. The names are those in general use among local investigators; the numbers are for convenience in use of the map only.

[37] 1927, p. 203.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
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GENOA SITE.—After the treaty of 1857 the Pawnee gradually became concentrated in one great, rambling village on the Loup. This lay about 1½ miles south of Genoa, on a broad, flat plain between Beaver Creek and the Loup.[55] The Skidi occupied the western part of the village; the other three bands located in what is now the Genoa Cemetery. A sod wall protected the settlement on the south and west sides, with the portions nearest Genoa left open. Each band is said to have had its own burial ground. That of the Grands was to the south, across the Loup River. The Skidi interred their dead on bluffs northwest of their village. The Tappage Cemetery was on a hill in what is now the north edge of Genoa and that of the Republicans was northeast of the city. All traces of the village have been obliterated and the cemeteries have suffered extensively at the hands of vandals. Few objects of native production have been found, as the Pawnee were very much under the influence of the Americans at this late date and were rapidly losing their own arts and industries.

GRAND PAWNEE SITES

The Grand Pawnee are often designated in early literature and on maps prior to 1800 as *Panis*. The main villages of the band were always on the south bank of the Platte, save for a short period between 1806 and 1824 (the latter date being approximate), and another from 1860 to 1875. During both of these periods they were on the north bank of the Loup, at the Horse Creek and Genoa sites, respectively. Two pure Grand Pawnee locations are recognized, viz, the Linwood and the Clarks sites; the Plum Creek site was occupied by members of at least two of the other bands. The Horse Creek site was dominantly Republican, hence is included in that section.

LINWOOD SITE.—This site is located approximately a mile south and slightly west of the town of Linwood, on the east bank of Skull Creek 3 miles south of the Platte River.[56] It occupies the western portion of an alluvial flat, a small embaymentlike arm of the Platte Valley extending perhaps three-quarters of a mile up Skull Creek, and is inclosed on the west, south, and east by high bluffs. Skull Creek, at least in former times, probably carried water at all seasons of the year, and immediately below the site an excellent spring provided water sufficient to meet the domestic needs for a considerable community.

The site, though extending nearly half a mile continuously along the creek, actually consists of two contiguous sites of very different age. The early phase of occupation, designated on map 2 as 9 A,

[55] SW¼ sec. 24 and SE¼ sec. 23, T. 17 N., R. 4 W., Nance County, Nebr.
[56] SW¼ sec. 35, T. 17 N., R. 4 E., Butler County, Nebr.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

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BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY BULLETIN 112 MAP 1

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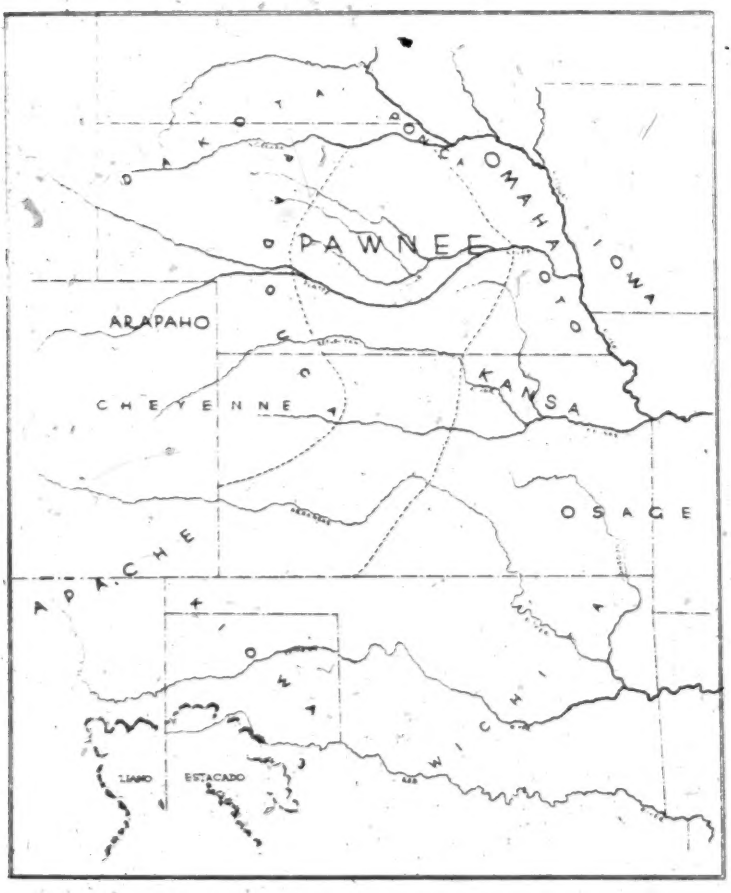

TRIBAL MAP OF THE CENTRAL PLAINS ABOUT 1800.

[End Map 1]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
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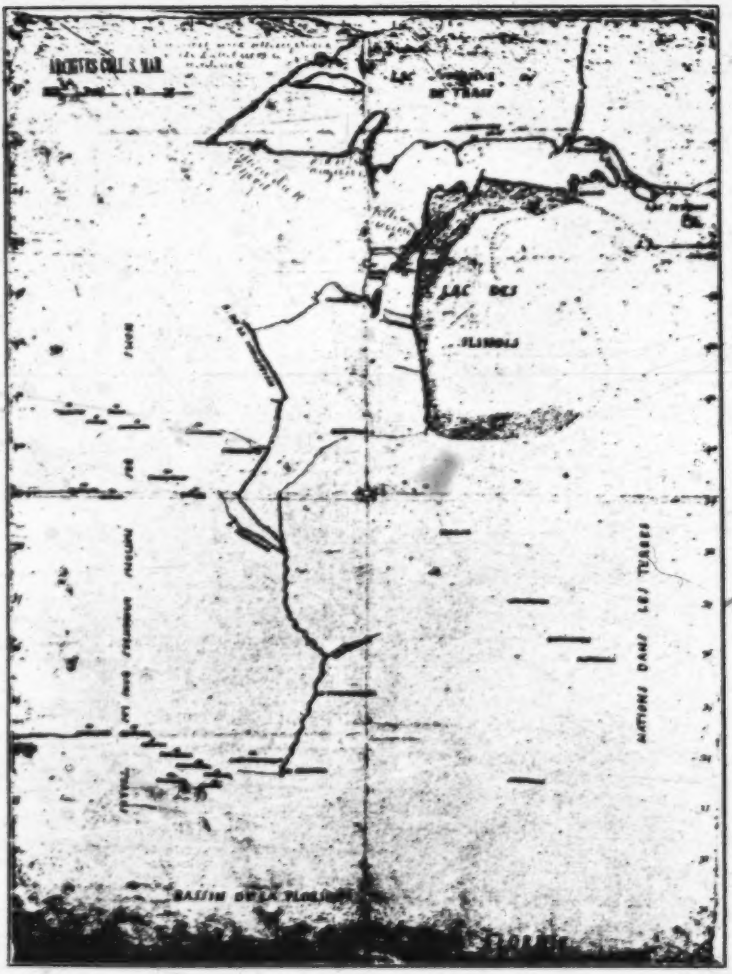

MARQUETTE'S MAP, 1673–74.
From the Jesuit Relations, volume LIX, page 108.

[End Map 3]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

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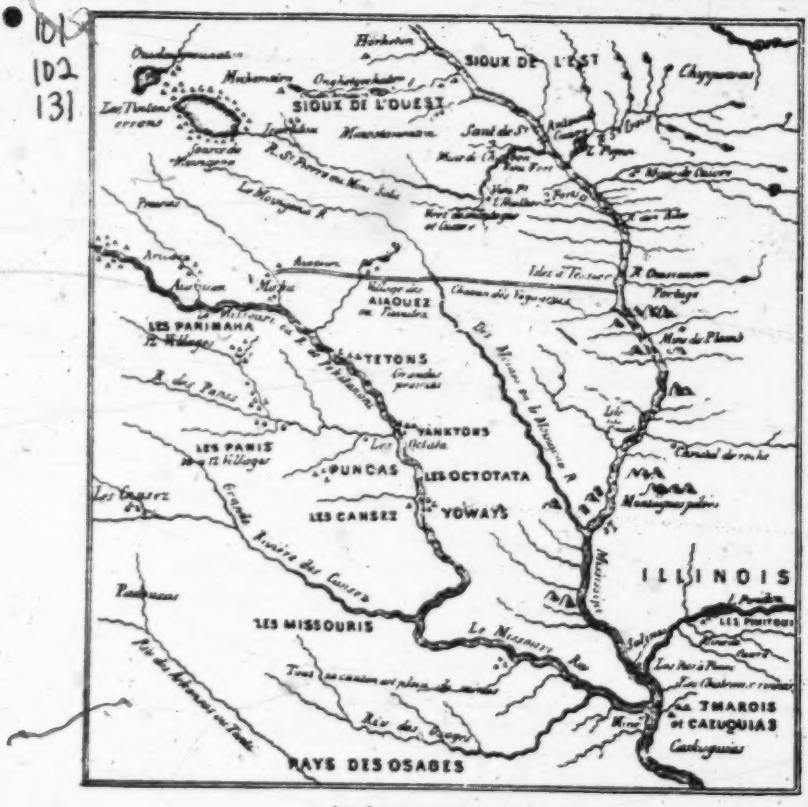

LE SEUER'S MAP, 1701.

From the South Dakota Historical Collections, volume I, page 49.

[End Map 4]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

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DU PRATZ'S MAP OF LOUISIAN

From Histoire de la Louisiane, tome premi

[End Map 5(A)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

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RATZ'S MAP OF LOUISIANA, 1757.

oire de la Louisiane, tome premiere, page 138.

[End Map 5(B)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

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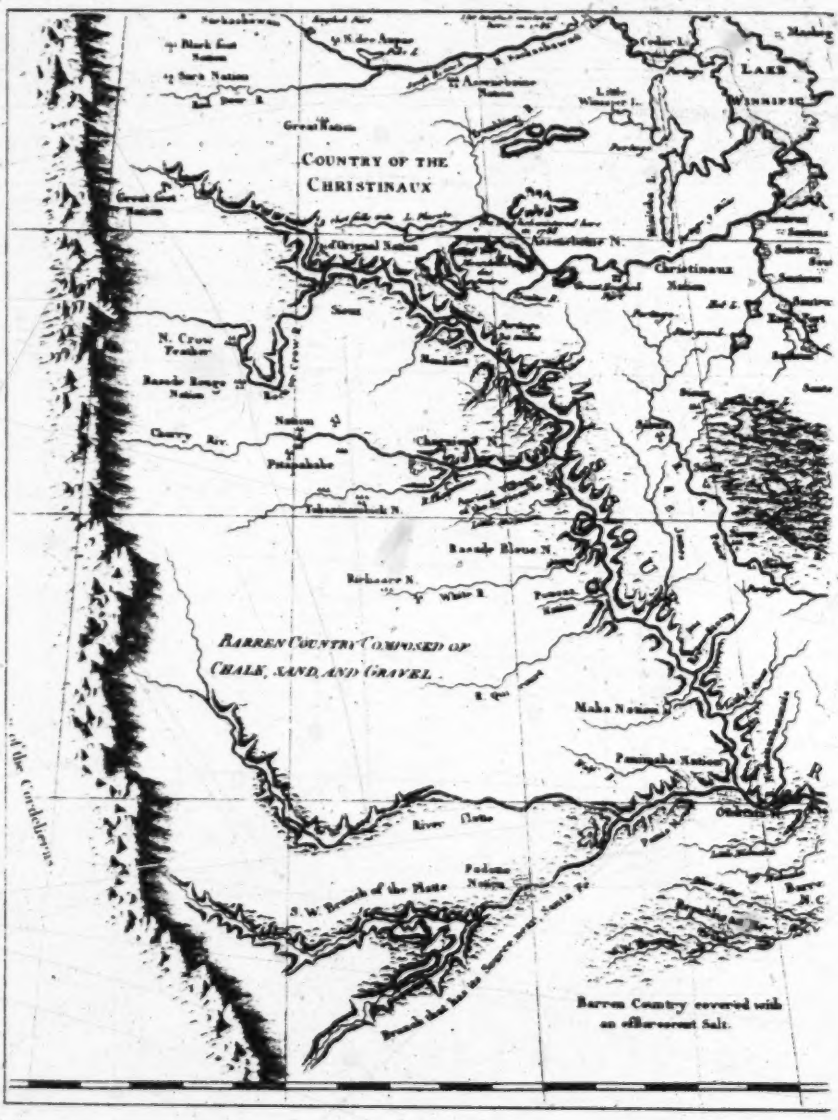

COLLOT'S MAP, 1796.
From a Journey in North America, volume

[End Map 6(A)]

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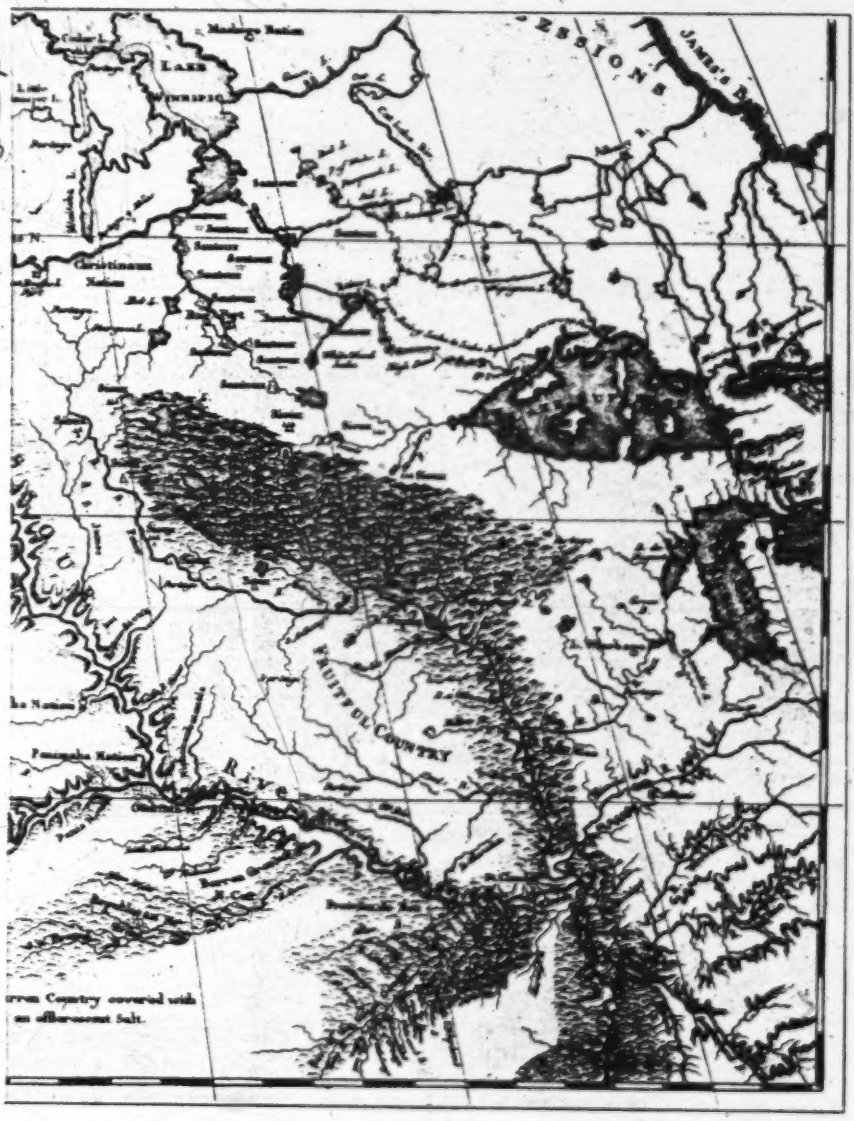

COLLOT'S MAP, 1796.

Journey in North America, volume I, page 281

[End Map 6(B)]

11; Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLO

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DU LAC'S MAP OF THE MISSOU

From-Travels through the Two Lou

[End Map 7(A)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

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C'S MAP OF THE MISSOURI, 1802.
n Travels through the Two Louisianas.

[End Map 7B]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

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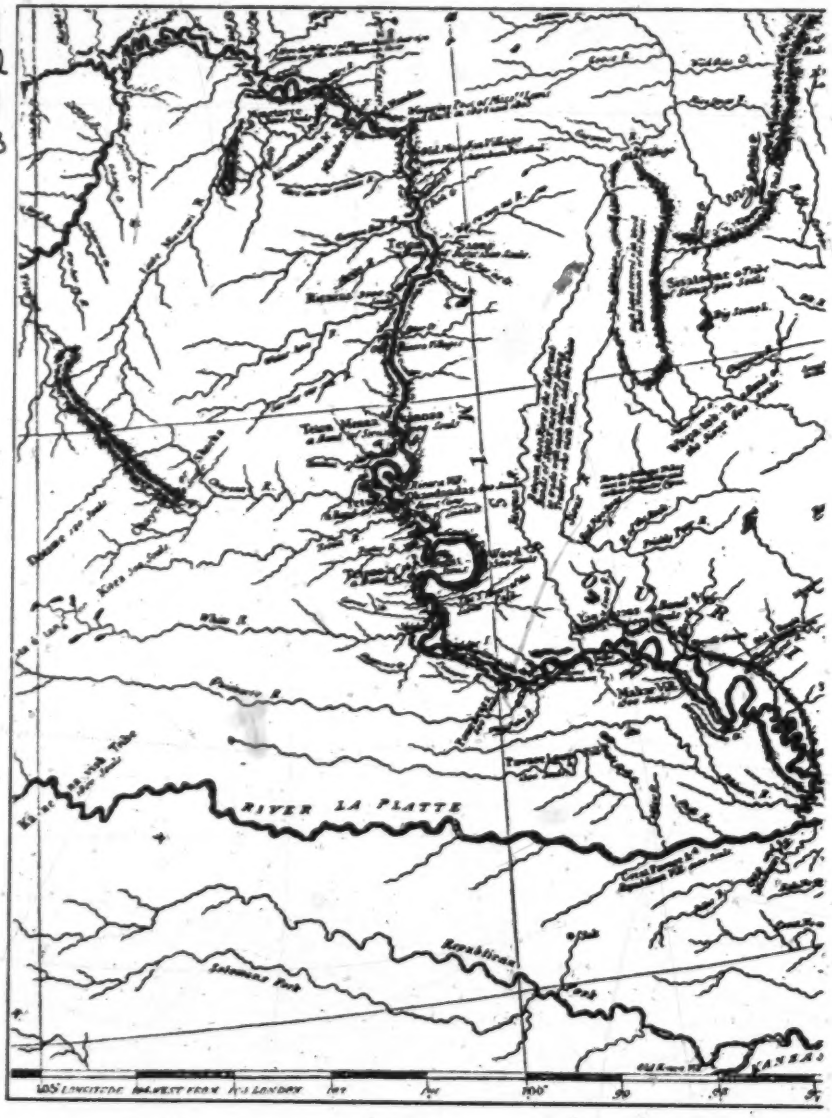

LEWIS AND CLARK'S MAP.
From Travels to the Source of the Missouri

[End Map 8(A)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

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IS AND CLARK'S MAP, 1804.
to the Source of the Missouri River, volume I.

[End Map 8(B)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

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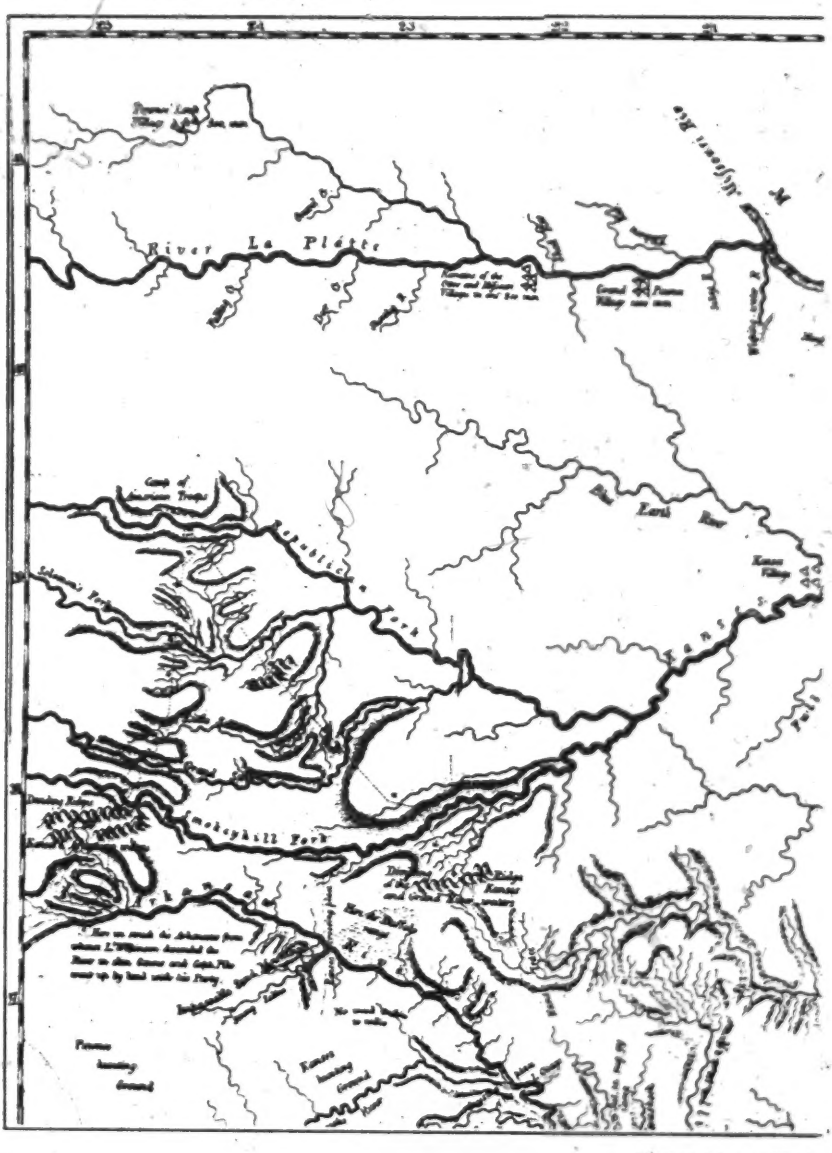

PIKE'S MAP, 1806.
From An Account of Expeditions to the Sources o

[End Map 9(A)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

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PIKE'S MAP, 1806.
of Expeditions to the Sources of the Mississippi, etc.

[End Map 9 (B)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

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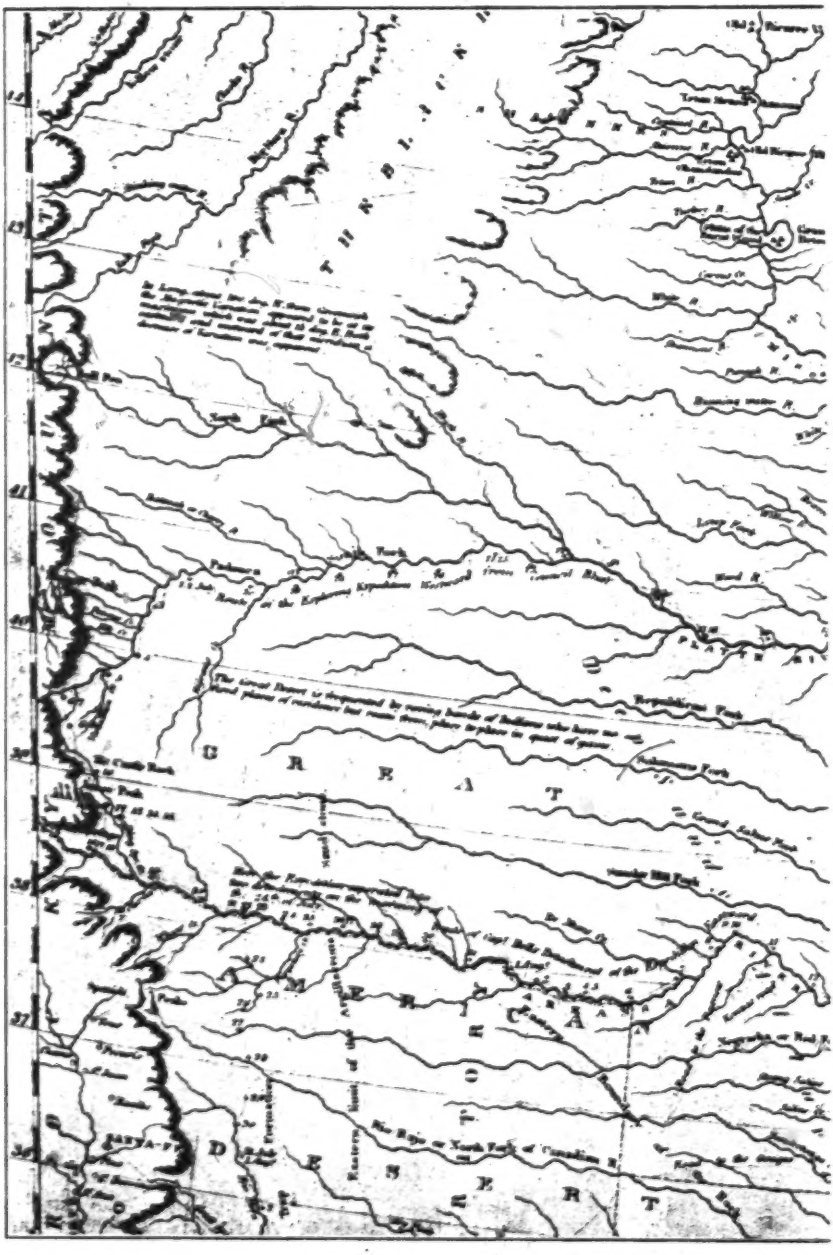

LONG'S MAP, 1819.
From Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the

[Ed Map 10 (A)]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936

NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

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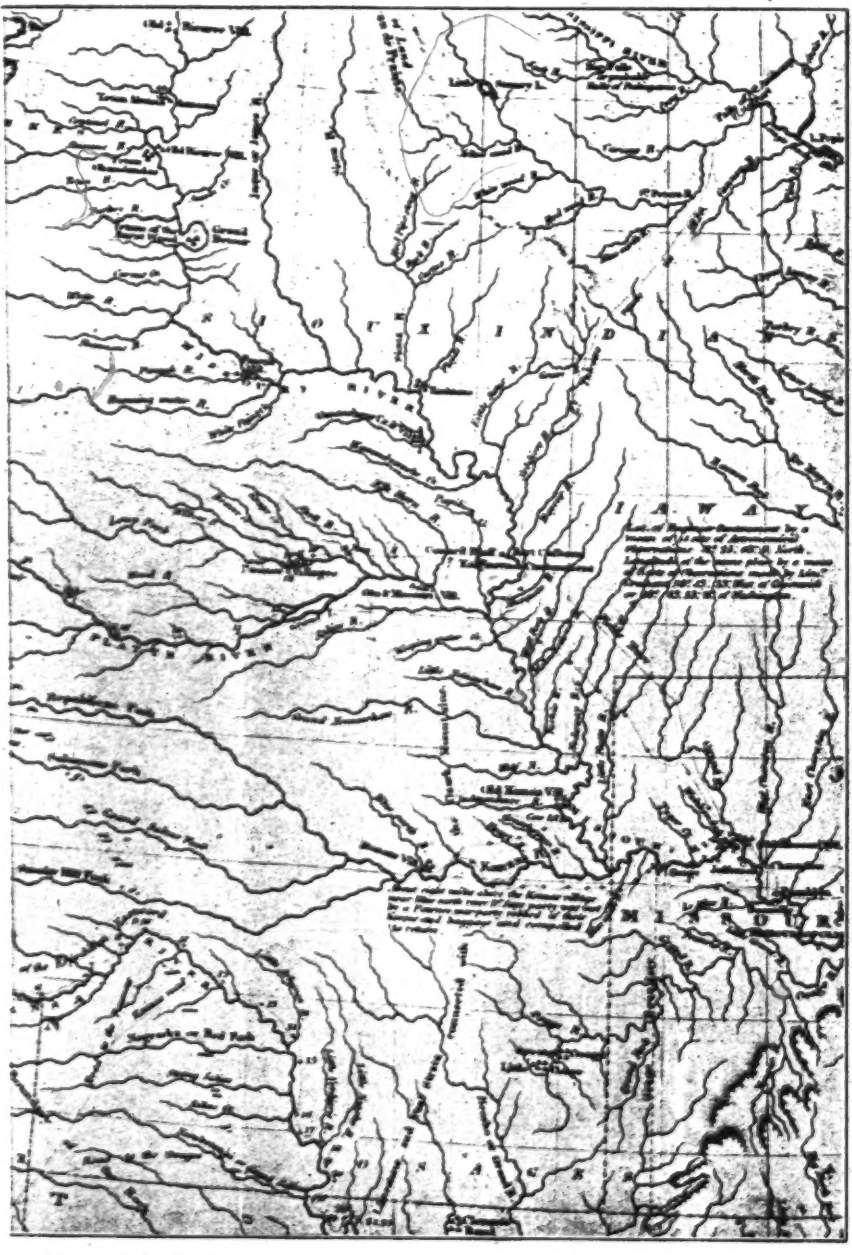

LONG'S MAP, 1819.

pedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, atlas.

[End Map 10(B)]

13:Morgan E-5 (1859-1860, 1862) 1959
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

[p 220 (A)]
[pp 214-219 not processed]

619 11. Alice C. Fletcher renders the native names of the bands: Chaui, Kitkehaki, Pitahauerat or Tapage, and Skidi (article "Pawnee," in *Handbook of American Indians*, F. W. Hodge, ed., Washington, 1910). Clark Wissler (after Powell) places all four bands in the Pawnee type of the Caddoan language family (*The American Indian*, 2nd ed.; New York, 1922, p. 405).

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[197]

614 12. In *Ancient Society* (pp. 164–65), Morgan says it is doubtful if the Pawnees had gentes (clans), but cites Allis' belief that they did. Apparently they did not, for Alice C. Fletcher discusses their social organization without mentioning clans (Fletcher, *op. cit.*, II, 215).

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

12 narrator was Mark Evarts, a Pawnee of the Skidi Band, whose childhood
115 was spent on the reservation in Nebraska from 1861 to 1875, when Pawnee culture was still very much an integral polity and way of life. His personal identity is embodied in the "Boy Otter" as he appears in the following narrative.

• 101 My relationship with Mark Evarts began casually in the course of my
114 grammatical researches. Historically there were four political groups of
115 Pawnees known as bands, the Skidi or Wolf Band, the Kitkehaxki or Little-Earth-Lodge Band, the Tsawi or Asking-for-Meat Band and the Pitahawirata or Man-Going-Downstream Band. Each of these traditionally pronounced the language somewhat differently, but it was always known that the major difference was between the Skidi and the other three known collectively as the South Bands because of their former more southern location. From linguistic samples I took of each of the four, the distinctions among the South Bands were not clear enough to identify at that time. Only the Skidi difference was clear. Mark Evarts served as my Skidi informant with Henry Chapman as interpreter in my attempt to find any grammatical and pronunciation distinctions. Evarts' English was broken and so heavily overlaid with a Pawnee accent that it was understandable only with considerable difficulty. As my Pawnee vocabulary improved, we developed a Pawnee-English mode of communication that made the interpreter no longer necessary. As I extended my research into the semantic and cultural background of the language, Evarts became a major resource and ally in my investigations and our work extended over seven years and involved the entire Oklahoma Pawnee community.

114 At this time (1928–1936) Evarts was living with friends and relatives.
115 His wife and child had died tragically only a few years before, and he had lost his little farm to the bank. The crises that had beset his life as a member of his tribe and times were epic in their proportions; as a man in the decline of his years, he had many questions to ask, and I, as a novice in life's ills and trials, had many questions to ask of him. Many of his questions concerned the white culture and its values, and, as a young anthropologist, mine sought answers through the cross-cultural perspective I hoped to find in studying the Pawnee way. Together we established the language of our common humanity and communicated what we wanted to know about the special character of each other's culture as well as of life in general. It was my purpose to understand the Pawnees as people, not as Indians or as social categories and certainly not as historical antiques.

161 Although in the 1920's only seven hundred Pawnees survived, some
178 Pawnee customs remained among them and at least eight of the older peo-
197 ple spoke no other language than Pawnee. The town of Pawnee, Okla-
361 homa, was surrounded by the allotted lands of the Pawnees, the lands of
423 each band being located in a different direction. The bands were still

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14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

unchecked by a United States torn by Civil War. Then, when the war was over, came the white settlement of their territory and still more conflicts for the land, the water, and the timber. Finally they could stay there no longer; they had to leave their homeland, and they moved south.

The Pawnees were related by language to a people to the south of them, the Wichita, and they often went visiting, some of them remaining for several years in order to learn new ceremonials which they brought home with them when they returned north. As far back as the 1770's a contingent of three hundred Pawnees had gone south and settled permanently there. They were very welcome at this time and every inducement was given to make them stay, as the Wichita were already heavily depleted in numbers by disease and enemy attack; the Pawnee group constituted a much-needed reinforcement.

In the summer of 1870, just a hundred years later, a Pawnee chief led a visiting party of three hundred men to the Wichita. After their return, subsequent parties went down in successive years and were made welcome by the Wichitas and other tribes in the area that is now Oklahoma; in 1873, despite many doubts on the part of their chiefs, two-thirds of the Pawnees finally left their Nebraska home and migrated south. By November 1875 the last Pawnee contingent arrived in Oklahoma. Many met their death as a result of the change. Fevers and starvation took such a heavy toll that by 1879 only 1,440 survived, and, by the U.S. census of 1910, just 633 Pawnees remained alive.

The time of my arrival in Oklahoma to do ethnological and linguistic work was 1928, some fifty years after the time the Pawnees had settled there permanently. We did not know then that Pawnee life with its combined settled village life and migratory buffalo hunting was an old way of life on the Plains.

The general opinion among anthropologists was that in the not too distant past earth-lodge peoples such as the Pawnee had formerly lived in the woodland areas east of the Mississippi and, migrating out onto the Plains, had begun to adopt the migratory life of buffalo hunters and were in the process of abandoning their settled ways.

Archaeology has since shown us that the combination of migratory and sedentary village life is much older in the Plains than we had thought and that, far from being in transition, the ancestors of the Pawnees had probably followed a similar way of life in Nebraska for nearly seven hundred years. Archaeological remains of earth-lodge villages are found along the Republican, Platte, and Loup rivers, a progressive evolution of the houses from rectangular to round appearing with the passage of time. The houses and the remains of objects and food found in the archaeological settlements show such a clear continuity into historic times that their identification as ancestral Pawnee is well nigh inevitable.

In 1867 the four bands into which the Pawnee were politically organ-

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

ized were concentrated along the banks of Beaver Creek, a northern tributary of the Loup River near the present town of Genoa, Nebraska. They had moved to this place in 1859 as a result of their treaty with the United States Government. Each of the bands had its separate location, the Skidi villages in the westernmost position and the three South Bands ranged along the stream to the east about half a mile away. From west to east they were: Kitkehaxki (Little-Earth-Lodge), Tsawi (Asking-for-Meat), and Pitahawirata (Man-Going-Downstream, or East). Each of the bands is said to have comprised a number of villages; for the three South Bands this cannot be documented. From 1700 on, when our historical records are clear, the Skidi were the largest of the four bands and were composed of a number of distinct villages, estimated between twelve and nineteen. In 1867 the Skidi had four distinct villages, Tuwahukasa (Village-across-a-Ridge), Tuhitspiat (Village-in-the-Bottomlands), Tskirirara (Wolf-in-Water), and Pahukstatu (Pumpkin-Vine). The villages were made up of ten to twelve earth lodges, each a high spacious dome-shaped building housing thirty to fifty people. Besides containing thirty to fifty people under one roof, the personnel was likely to change from season to season after each migration to the buffalo hunting grounds. The basic Pawnee household was as different from ours as it is possible for a human arrangement to be. And yet it gave personal satisfaction to its members and within itself produced the whole material and social base for an ongoing community. In fact, this is what we wish our family life would do. Sibling rivalries, partial or total rejection of child by parent or smothering attention, demands on the child for the unfulfilled ambitions of the parents, or overprotection because of resented parental hardships, heavy-handed control of parent over child in a severely restricted social environment—these are ills that are intimately linked with the very physical arrangements of our present family living. There are things about Pawnee life that suggest that an enlarged home environment for our children would improve our lives—a matter to be considered in the concluding chapter.

Even more startling to me than the contrast in home life was the question of political control among the Pawnees. They were a well-disciplined people, maintaining public order under many trying circumstances. And yet they had none of the power mechanisms that we consider essential to a well-ordered life. No orders were ever issued. No assignments for work were ever made nor were over-all plans discussed. There was no code of rules of conduct nor punishment for infraction. There were no commandments nor moralizing proverbs. The only instigator of action was the consenting person. In religion, the regular round of ceremonies that followed the seasons was in charge of a priesthood, but no one of these ceremonies was ever instigated by them. Only when a single person had the call through visions and invited the priesthood to discuss

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

mercial metal to appear in this region was the Lower Loup sites of the 1600's where a few small fragments of sheet copper and bits of broken iron objects were found. In the protohistoric Pawnee villages of the 1700's, chipped-stone arrow points were plentiful and even in the 1830's in Old Village, they were fairly common. In the next thirty years they had gone out of use. A very characteristic Pawnee object is the diamond-shaped, bevel-edged knife of chipped flint known in archaeological circles as Haraldey. By 1867 it had been entirely replaced with the metal knife bought from the trader. One of the early names for white people was "Big Knife."

Of the heavier objects of stone, the chipped, grooved stone mauls, axes, and polished celts of the protohistoric and historic archaeological sites had been replaced by the metal ax and hatchet. Two stone objects continued in use—sandstone buffers for smoothing the wooden arrow-shafts and the bowl of the pipe made of pipestone or Catlinite. The sandstone buffers came in pairs and were oval-shaped with a flat surface, each with a matching groove down the length, through which the shaft was pulled. Pipestone was a powdery red or black stone traded from southwest Minnesota where the quarry is located near the present town of Pipestone.

Most of the Pawnee crafts were highly specialized and their knowledge was confined to a limited number of people, who were reluctant to reveal their technical secrets. They were looked upon much as we regard electrical and mechanical skills in our present-day society.

The crafts had a respected place in the ceremonies and were part of ceremonial metaphor. In the ceremony of the Young Corn plant when the Young Mother Corn was being provided with her life, an expert arrowshaft maker was called in to fashion a shaft that would symbolize her body and particularly the windpipe, regarded by the Pawnees as the essence of life itself. When the arrow maker was cutting off the knots from the dogwood stick, they sang of "picking off the words" and when the shaft was drawn through the straightener, the squeaking noise was referred to as "rubbing the female voice." The process of fashioning the pipe stem for the calumet or peace pipe was also couched in poetic terms.

Nevertheless it is rather surprising that there were neither religious taboos nor ceremonial procedures connected with the actual practice of the crafts. Among the Polynesians strict taboos guard the conventional technical procedures against any variations. Among the Pueblos of the Southwest, basket making involves songs and taboos, while among the Plains-dwelling southern Cheyenne, there were organized craft guilds connected with many religious requirements. Sewing beadwork on skins was undertaken as a kind of religious vow—probably going back to older porcupine embroidery. If the work was not completed in the allotted